

Social Democratic Herald

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For the Abolition of Capitalism, and the Coöperative Production and Distribution of all Wealth.

The True Inwardness.

The Scheme of the Colonizers Was to "Knock Out" Political Action—It Was Planned in Advance.

The convention in June brought out just what might have been expected, for it was just what had been carefully planned for (except the bolt, which struck them a fatal blow) by the crowd now in control of the Social Democracy.

The following interview was published in the "Chicago Dispatch" May 28, just ten days before the convention met, and I ask you to print it in full just as it appeared, headlines and all:

DEBS' PARTY WILL BE TURNED UPSIDE DOWN.

SOCIAL DEMOCRACY WILL DROP POLITICS AND PRESS COLONIZATION SCHEME.

BIG MISTAKE HAS BEEN MADE.

ONLY SALVATION FOR THE ORDER IS A RADICAL CHANGE IN AIM AND OBJECTS.

The annual convention of the Social Democracy will be held at Ulibet Hall during the week beginning June 7, and from hints dropped here and there another revolution in the aims and objects of the organization is anticipated.

In speaking of the anticipated revolution in policy a prominent member of the Social Democracy said to-day:

"Dropping the colonization scheme in order to build up a political party has weakened our standing in the reform movement. If the convention does not turn things upside down we may just as well disband."

It has been conferred with Social Democrats in all parts of the country, and they believe in dropping politics until we plant a vigorous colony in some western state.

"The reason for this is plain. Wherever we put up a party ticket we create opposition to the order, as there are thousands in every city who would follow us anywhere on a colonization platform, but who will not join us in supporting a third party ticket."

"The plan which has found the most favor and will be presented to the convention is to declare the principal object of the order to be to establish colonies and drop all talk of a political party until after the Democratic convention of 1900."

"If the Democrats not only reaffirm their platform of 1896 but go further along the line of reform, I expect to see every Social Democrat vote for that ticket."

"We could not hold our people anyway against such opposition, and I believe Debs will be forced to take this view."

I have learned that this interview was held with R. M. Goodwin, then and now a member of the National Executive Board, and since the convention a member of the "Committee on Political Action."

The "Chicago Dispatch" is the official organ of the Cook County Democracy, and this is the power that made itself felt in the convention by defeating political action.

In this interview Goodwin lets the cat out of the bag by coming out boldly for "dropping politics," just what the convention did, but has been since denied in the "Social Democrat."

Here is the thing in a nutshell: "Drop all talk of a political party until after the Democratic convention in 1900;" and then, "I expect to see every Social Democrat vote for that (the Democratic) ticket."

Just so! That was the scheme, and to make sure that it would not miscarried the convention was packed with a lot of "delegates" (?) that represented branches two days old with five members each. Two of these delegates were Democratic officeholders. I know of one man who was approached and offered a delegate's credential under the same condition as the others, but refused to be a party to the disreputable work.

Of the outside delegates that fell in with the Chicago clique, the two from Kansas were populist officeholders and of course "opposed to politics." The only two eastern delegates they captured were elected to office, and it seemed very plain that Dr. Frank of New York had this understanding with the crowd from the start.

The joke of it all is the "36 Chicago branches" which are claimed by the "Social Democrat." Where are they? Who can locate them? I venture to say they haven't got five working branches in the city.

The whole scheme was to knock out political action in the interest of the old parties.

But thanks to the bolters, the scheme failed and the goods will not be delivered. The rank and file have deserted these new "leaders" and the little that is left of the Social Democracy will not hold together long.

Chicago, Ill.

R. T. RESING.

LITTLE UNWRITTEN HISTORY.

By invitation I was present in Chicago in June, 1897, during the week of the A. R. U. convention which gave birth to the S. D. of A. After reaching the hotel and washing up—which was about 10 o'clock p. m.—I was shown to the room of Eugene V. Debs, who opened the door and asked me in, where I found some fifteen persons. The subject of a new Socialist organization was being discussed. It developed that not a line of declaration or constitution had been prepared. This was unfortunate, for all persons of experience know how impossible it is to have a general meeting do such work. After much talk it was decided to have three different parties make drafts of a declaration, to be submitted at a meeting to be held the next evening. This was done, and from the three was evolved the declaration which was adopted. During the discussions over the declaration of purposes it developed that a number of the A. R. U. members in the city of Chicago, who were present, were violently opposed to political action, and every reference to the ballot or politics was warmly discussed. Finally, it settled down to an intensely spirited argument between these people and Debs. He showed them the fallacy of placing themselves against or outside of the law, no matter how unjust, as the law would now them down with lead. He argued for the capture of the law-making power, through the ballot box, and the change of laws to bring about economic equality.

More than once during the discussions the acting chairman bluntly said, "There is no use trying to form an organization from such adverse elements," and several times he was on the point of leaving the chair in disgust at the action of those who were so much afraid of "the slime of politics." When the controversy seemed to be ending Debs said: "If you fellows are going into the convention and take this position, we might just as well quit right here." A vote on the acceptance of the declaration and platform was taken, and a majority of those present voted to accept, with the understanding that in one year, at the first national convention, there should be launched a political platform and party. Those who had fought the ballot and political action volunteered the statement that the new organization would have their hearty support, and that they would not fight the declaration in the convention.

Having seen and heard what I did in this room at McCoy's Hotel, I felt a year for the future of the S. D. of A. which I could not shake off, and which kept me from aggressive action in its behalf. The late convention fully justified that fear, as well as the utterance of the chairman noted above, for the same element that fought the idea of the ballot and politics one year ago were the ones that dominated the late convention. This may be news to the Colonization Commission and others who were not present at the birth of the S. D. of A., but historic facts, nevertheless.

I make this statement at this time because I believe it due to Eugene V. Debs, who has all but wrecked a magnificent physique in a struggle to carry his ideas into the realm of reality, and to once more note a demonstration of the fact that people will not give up convictions to keep pace with a name or constitution.

The "bolt" was inevitable, and personally experiencing the splendid feeling and spirit that prevailed among the "bolters," I am sure they will so conduct the movement, as to make it materially serve to hasten the coming of the Coöperative Commonwealth.

Tiffin, O. CHAS. R. MARTIN.

The Italian government has confiscated at Turin an Italian translation of Kantsky's "Karl Marx' Economic Doctrines," and the persecution of Socialists continue. It won't work, you may be sure.

At Riga, in Russia, the authorities were afraid of the 1st of May, and surrounded the factories with troops and firemen. Nevertheless, the vigilance of the authorities did not prevent posters appearing on the walls urging workers to hold meetings on that day to show the universal solidarity of labor.

The Austrian government has sanctioned the measure taken by the Budapest police in photographing all known Socialists. The tribunal declares that the measure is right because it will enable the police of all countries to know who are the agitators. Commenting on this, an English Socialist paper says the Socialists should begin to take snapshots at royal, aristocratic and commercial leaders, so the workers may know who are the plunderers.

Justice, Not Revenge.

Rewritten in Condensed Form from One of the Lectures of William Morris, by Frederic Heath.

The word revolution, which we Socialists are so often forced to use, has a terrible sound in most people's ears, even when we have explained to them that it does not necessarily mean a change accompanied by riot and all kinds of violence, and cannot be a change made mechanically, and in the teeth of opinion, by a group of men who have somehow managed to seize on the executive power for the moment.

Even when we explain that we use the word in its etymological sense, and mean by it a change in the basis of society, people are scared at the idea of such a vast change, and beg that we will speak of reform and not revolution.

As, however, we Socialists do not at all mean by our word revolution what these worthy people mean by their word reform, I cannot help thinking that it would be a mistake to use it, whatever projects we may concoct beneath its harmless envelope.

So we will stick to our word, which means a change of the basis of society; it may frighten people, but it will at least warn them that there is something to be frightened about, which will be no less dangerous for being ignored; and also it may encourage some people, and will mean to them at least not a fear, but a hope.

Fear and Hope—these are the names of the two great passions which rule the race of men, and with which revolutionists have to deal; to give hope to the many oppressed and fear to the few oppressors, that is our business. If we do the first and give hope to the many, the few must be frightened by their hope; otherwise we do not want to frighten them. It is not revenge we want for poor people, but happiness; indeed what revenge can be taken for all the thousands of years of the sufferings of the poor?

However, many of the oppressors of the poor, most of them, we will say, are not conscious of being oppressors; they live in an orderly, quiet way themselves, as far as possible removed from the feelings of a Roman slave-owner or a Legree; they know that the poor exist, but their sufferings do not present themselves to them in a trenchant and dramatic way; they themselves have troubles to bear, and they think doubtless that to bear troubles is the lot of humanity. Nor have they any means of comparing the troubles of their lives with those of people lower in the social scale. If ever the thoughts of those heavier troubles intrude itself upon them, they console themselves with the maxim that people do get used to the troubles they have to bear, whatever they may be. We have as supporters of the present state of things, however bad it may be, first those comfortable unconscious oppressors who think that they have everything to fear from any change which would involve more than the softest and most gradual of reforms, and secondly, those poor people who, living hard and anxiously as they do, can hardly conceive of any change for the better happening to them, and dare not risk one tithe of their poor possessions in taking any action toward a possible bettering of their condition. So that while we can do little with the rich save inspire them with fear, it is hard indeed to give the poor any hope.

We are living under a system that makes conscious effort toward reconstruction almost impossible. It is not unreasonable to say to our objectors: "There are certain definite obstacles to the real progress of man; we can tell you what these are; take them away, and then you shall see." I must ask the rich what sort of a position it is which they are so anxious to preserve at any cost? And if, after all, it will be such a terrible loss to them to give it up, and I must point out to the poor that they, with capacities for living a dignified and generous life, are in a position which they cannot endure without continued degradation.

Our present system of society is based on a state of perpetual war. War or competition, whichever you please to call it, means at the best pursuing your own advantage at the cost of someone else's loss. First we have the form of war called national rivalry. Then there is the war between the "organizers of labor," great

firms, joint stock companies—capitalists, in short. See how competition "stimulates production" among them; indeed, it does do that; but what kind of production? Well, production of something to sell at a profit, or say production of profits. And note how commercial war stimulates that. A certain market is demanding goods; there are, say, a hundred manufacturers who make that kind of goods, and every one of them would, if he could, keep that market to himself, and struggle desperately to get as much of it as he can, with the obvious result that presently the thing is overdone, and the market is glutted, and all that fury of manufacture has to sink into cold ashes. Doesn't that seem something like war to you? But you say, it cheapens the goods. In a sense it does; and yet only apparently, as wages have a tendency to sink for the ordinary worker in proportion as prices sink; and at what cost do we gain this appearance of cheapness? Plainly speaking, at the cost of cheating the consumer and starving the real producer for the benefit of the gamblers, who uses consumer and producer as his milch cows.

As war is the life breath of the profit makers, in like manner, combination is the life of the workers. The working class, or proletariat, cannot even exist as a class without combination of some sort. The necessity which forced the profit grinders to collect their men first into workshops working by the division of labor, and next into great factories worked by machinery, and so gradually to draw them into the great towns and centers of civilization, gave birth to a distinct working class or proletariat; and this it was that gave them their mechanical existence, so to say. But note, that they are indeed combined into social groups for the production of wares, but only as yet mechanically; they do not know what they are working at, nor whom they are working for, because they are combining to produce wares of which the profit of a master forms an essential part, instead of goods for their own use. As long as they do this and compete with each other for leave to do it, they will be, and will feel themselves to be, simply a part of those competing firms I have been speaking of; they will be, in fact, just a part of the machinery for the production of profit; and so long as this lasts it will be the aim of the masters or profit makers to decrease the market value of this human part of the machinery. That is to say, since they are ready hold in their hands the labor of dead men in the form of capital and machinery, it is their interest, or we will say their necessity, to pay as little as they can help for the labor of living men which they have to buy from day to day. And since the workmen they employ have nothing but their labor power, they are compelled to underbid one another for employment and wages, and so enable the capitalist to play his game.

The present position of the workers is that of the machinery of commerce, or in plainer words, its slaves. When they change that position and become free, the class of profit makers must cease to exist, and what will then be the position of the workers? Even as it is they are the one necessary part of society, the life-giving part, the other classes are but mere hangarion who live on them. But what will the workers be; what should they be when they, once for all, come to know their real power, and cease competing with each other for a livelihood? I will tell you: they will be society—that is, there being no class outside them to contend with—they can regulate their labor in accordance with their own real needs.

There is much talk of supply and demand, but the supply and demand usually meant is an artificial one; it is under the sway of the gambling market. When the workers are so society they will regulate their labor so that the supply and demand shall be genuine. There will be no more artificial famines then, no more poverty amidst overproduction, amidst too great a stock of the very things which should prevent poverty. In short, there will be no waste and consequently no tyranny.

I want you to understand this, that even with labor so misdirected as it is at present, an equitable distribution of the wealth we have would make all people comparatively comfortable; but that is nothing to the wealth we might have if labor were not misdirected. Little by little, step by step, man has grown stronger, till now, after all the ages, he has almost completely conquered Nature, and one would think should now have leisure to turn his thoughts toward higher things than procuring to-morrow's dinner. But though he has conquered Nature, he

still has himself to conquer. At present he uses those forces blindly. Now our business is the organization of man who wields the conquered forces of Nature. Not till this is accomplished will he be free of that terrible phantom of fear of starvation, which, with its brother—deity, desire of domination, drives us into injustice, cruelty and dastardliness of all kinds.

You probably know what every man in civilization is worth, so to say, more than his skin; working as he must work, socially, he can produce more than will keep himself alive and in fair condition; and this has been so for many centuries, from the time when warring tribes began to make their captives slaves instead of killing them. To-day one man will weave as much in a week as will clothe a whole village for years; and the real question of civilization has always been, what are we to do with this extra produce of labor, a question which men have been driven to answer pretty badly always, and worst of all perhaps in these present days, when the extra produce has grown with such prodigious speed. The practical answer has always been for man to struggle with his fellows for private possession of undue shares of these extras, and all kinds of devices have been employed by those who found themselves in possession of the power of taking them from others to keep those whom they had robbed in perpetual subjection; and these latter, as I have noted, had no chance of resisting this fleecing so long as they were few and scattered, and consequently could have little sense of their common oppression. Owing to the very pursuit of these undue shares of profit or extra earnings, men have become more dependent on each other for production, and have been driven to combine together for that end more completely, the power of the workers—that is to say, of the robbed or fleeced class—has now enormously increased, and it only remains for them to understand that they have this power; when they do that, they will be able to give the right answer to the question what is to be done with the extra products of labor over and above what will keep the laborer alive to labor; which answer is that the laborer shall have all be products and not be fleeced at all. Remember that he produces collectively, and, therefore, he will do effectively what work is required of him according to his capacity, and of the products of that work he will have what he needs; because, you see, he cannot use more than he needs—he can only waste it.

MAKING PROGRESS BACKWARD.

Under the caption, "A Sinking Craft," Free Society, a San Francisco Anarchist paper, advises among other things:

"Anarchist-Communists whose zeal for radicalism has led them to embrace the Social Democracy will do well to give that tottering institution the parting shake."

That is certainly quite rich, considering the prominent part that Emma Goldman and some of her followers played in the Chicago convention. They were loud in their denunciation of "the curse of politics," and now that they won out they don't seem to be satisfied either. Does anybody know what they want, and how they are going to get it? No, two anarchists seem to agree as to tactics other than that it is their duty to worm their way into organization, which they dislike upon general principles, make heap big noise, and start rows that end in disruption. They wrecked the International, the Social Democracy, as well as the local Franklin Club, and their warm support of the pure and simple and their methods will prove dangerous to old trade unionism.

It will be remembered that this paper predicted the disintegration of the triumphant faction of the Social Democracy, composed of a conglomeration of Anarchists, Single Taxers, Populists and other confusionists, quite a number of whose delegates represented branches on paper. The anarchists pretended that they favored colonization, but now they boldly charge that the proposed Colorado venture "is a swindle of the rankest kind," and that the S. D. is a "gaseous bubble."

The anarchists are constitutionally opposed to organization, with all their talk about "voluntary" co-operation, which may mean much or little. They are social germs that speedily make for dissolution after once being inoculated. Their theories are so impractical, and their tactics so absurd that it is no wonder they are making progress backward.—Cleveland Citizen.

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Socialism will emancipate land and industrial capital from individual and class ownership.

What is wealth? It is some part of the bounty of nature plus the toil and skill of a human being.

An economically free people, making their own laws, will have no rulers but virtue and intelligence, no bosses but themselves.

Comrade Wm. Mailly, who acquitted himself so creditably on the floor of the convention, has been elected president of the Trades and Labor Council of Nashville, by a good majority, an honor well deserved and worthily bestowed.

The aim and purpose of Socialism is to give the working class control over their own labor and its product. To such a proposition there can be no enduring and effective opposition, because of its inherent justice on the one hand, and on the other its industrial or economic necessity.

No thinking man can believe that progress and civilization have reached the limit in the present system. Socialists believe in a great political, economic and moral change which will supplement the liberties we have with the larger liberties which are necessary to preserve the liberties we have.

Capital is unpaid labor held by private individuals; it is used, not to promote industrial efficiency and Social well-being, but as a means of appropriating more unpaid labor and thus acquiring more capital. Capital privately owned inevitably reduces the masses who produce capital to dependence on the classes who possess it.

A capitalist government undertakes to rule over persons by direct coercion. Socialism will undertake primarily to deal with the administration of things. Its concern with persons, or with personal habit and conduct, will be indirect and secondary. An administration of things in behalf of society as a whole will insure larger individual freedom to all, because there will be no private appropriation of unpaid labor and the consequent massing of capital in private hands.

Capitalists, generally speaking, are opposed to a shorter working day, and yet they believe in reducing the working time of the laborers. It's this way: They believe in reducing the time necessary for the production of what the producer must have to live on. See? The average workman now produces values covering his own means of subsistence in from one to three hours' work out of a total working day of ten hours. The balance of time, from seven to nine hours daily, belongs to the master. Indefinite shortening of the working time necessary to produce what the worker must have to live on, the capitalist thinks is all right; and most of the workers think the same.

While the stockholders of the street railways in Chicago are receiving enormous profits, which the Allen law was intended to insure them the enjoyment of for half a century to come, the street railways of Glasgow are paying their share of the expenses of city government.

While small property holders in Chicago find it difficult, and in many instances impossible, to pay the assessment for street paving, the traction people not only steal the streets but accumulate millions on the basis of private control of values granted by the council without compensation.

While streets need cleaning and paving and the municipality is short of

means to do the work, a private company, by excessive profits on a business that should be owned and operated publicly, is robbing the people, dictating legislation and deprecating "Socialism."

There are strange freaks all about us too numerous to make any sort of an attraction at a dime museum. You can probably locate some of them if you look around. There's the man who prefers to build houses for other men and pay other men for the privilege in them, rather than build a house for himself and pay the community the cost of maintenance. Then there's the fellow who would rather occupy a lot on condition that he be allowed to pay high rent to a private landlord, than be permitted by the community to occupy a lot without rent and be his own landlord. And another is the chap who lives "to work" and is thankful that he is permitted "to work," whose brain is as dry as army hardtack, and who spends his time when he is not "to work" extolling the vices of capitalism and wondering what we would do without capitalists!

The "American system," which, as we pointed out last week, is the capitalist system, which is the procuring cause of nearly all the misery in the world, and necessarily results in the impoverishment of the masses, is to be introduced in Cuba and other American acquisitions. According to the New York World the opportunity which the unemployed have sought in the United States without finding has turned up in Cuba, Porto Rico and the Philippines. Another opportunity for thrift and industry to get skinned.

A business system in which only five out of a hundred succeed and has proven itself incapable of employing men who want work, is said to be a system worth preserving! But the important fact is that it cannot be preserved. It is already decayed to the point of rottenness and will go. It is only a phase of the historical development of society.

Coal was advanced one dollar a ton the other day. Done, too, without a word of explanation or the purpose of it. But we all know the purpose. It was to put more money in the pockets of the rich. A dollar a ton means many millions added to private fortunes. It also means more misery added to the lot of the poor next winter.

Between one set which does not believe in "putting government at the head of everything," and another set which does believe in "keeping capitalists and corporations at the head of everything," the useful and productive set, which ought to be at the head of everything, is undeniably the mere appendage of everything.

Pangs of hunger, denote, in the human barometer, plenty to eat.

If women and children are in rags, it is an indication of abundant clothing.

Millions of the industrious being without homes, is clear proof that there is an oversupply.

To be "successful," according to the moral standard of capitalism, you must be able to appropriate what belongs to somebody else; there are plenty of opportunities, from embezeling the funds of a bank to stealing the streets of a city.

A millworker, named Weber, at Munnhall, Pa., has patented a clever device for rolling sheet and tin plate from the billet. The invention is creating much discussion among tin-plate workers, and may turn to be a revolutionizer. The Carnegie Company has secured control of it.

Just try and think of a society of rich people where there was no labor. Then try and think of a society of poor people wherein everybody did some socially useful work. The truth is that both are unthinkable.

Socialists are not fighting capital. They oppose the Social and economic perversion of capital by capitalists. They oppose capitalism. They would abolish capitalists, not capital.

Greed and selfishness must be made subordinate to justice and human interests. "Commercial necessity" will one day, ere long, yield to human necessity.

The favored classes have always condescended to exercise benevolence toward the masses who furnished the "dough."

We want more machinery, not less; but we want it owned by "ns," and not by "you" or "me."

There is an effective demand for food, but plenty of stomachs without an adequate supply.

Suffering and misery and crime go on increasing and coal goes up a dollar a ton.

Labor is the source of all value; it is also the maker of all capital.

Six hundred machinists of the Hoe Printing Press Company of New York are out on strike. Other branches are likely to be drawn into the trouble.

BIRTH OF GREAT MOVEMENTS.

All great historic movements start out with division of forces, with discussion of details that seem trifling, with contentions over methods of procedure and what seems to be waste of energy in fighting over what are called "non-essentials," which latter are really often vitally essential principles.

Religious liberty was only attained through great trials and tribulations; political liberty, now generally valued by the masses, went through the same course and now we have the greatest and most desperate struggle of all before us, and instead of showing a united front, a solid phalanx, we show a myriad headed host struggling blindly against the hardest of all slaveries that ever vexed humanity; a leader here and there with a handful of men desperately struggling to gain economic freedom, as if the passengers and crew on a sinking vessel in mid-ocean should fight to get control of all the boats that would easily accommodate all of them, destroying the boats in their frenzy, and all being overwhelmed in a watery grave.

The struggle is almost analogous. When every scheme imaginable is being concocted by the brainiest and most unscrupulous of the leaders of capitalism to further exploit labor and render it weaker, more servile and more amenable to its devilish discipline, our leaders are discussing and quarreling over methods of procedure. The big-endians and the little-endians described in Gulliver's travels are not more foolish. We have already a half dozen different brands of Socialism in America, and the leaders of each are yelling in stentorian tones throughout the land that "my doxy is orthodoxy and your doxy is heterodoxy."

This is rather a pessimistic view of the situation, and it is certainly a superficial view.

The beginning, and for some years following, the Socialistic movement in Germany and France had the same drawbacks, the individualistic eccentricities had to be thrown overboard, not without great retchings in the conventional bodies, until now the European Social Democracy seems to have a thorough foundation, based on a mathematical knowledge that no convulsions of religious, political or social prejudices can shake or disturb. The S. D. moves along with the certainty of the glacier from its mountain heights, grinding down all opposition and preparing the channel for the future International Commonwealth.

The percentage of increase in the votes for the S. D. in Germany has never fallen below 15 and sometimes as high as 25 per cent. The last election, according to plutocratic authority, added nearly 300,000 to its class conscious vote. The increase of the representatives to the Reichstag, according to the same authority, is not less than 15. Kaiser Billy, by the grace of the ignorance of his fellow citizens and their ineradicable superstition and prejudices, is becoming alarmed for the sake of his many uniforms, that he will scarcely have time to wear them threadbare, is going to adopt drastic measures, not having gumption to see that by so doing he will damage that which is now his pride, his own army, that is more than half Socialist already.

France is treading the same path to the International Commonwealth, only more rapidly if we may believe these same plutocratic papers.

The last increase is reported to be nearly half a million. In both countries this increase was accompanied by the same phenomenon, viz., the combination of the heterogeneous parties at the second ballot for the purpose of crushing out and defeating the Socialists.

Note well this ominous fact; for never before have the conservative and contlicting smaller capitalistic parties joined their forces politically to crush out the Socialists. This really means the beginning of the end. Probably the next parliamentary elections in Germany and France will see the Socialistic element predominating and then we may see the change prophetically announced by La Salle as coming in ushered by upheavals of all sorts.

The movement in England has received an immense impetus from the recent strike of the engineers. If they learn that political and economic power are and should be inseparable, they will not have paid too dearly for their failure in the recent strike. At present it does seem as if they had at last learned the lesson that they must vote together as well as strike together.

All over the world the proletariat have learned or are learning the lesson that in unity there is strength, and with all the seemingly unnecessary and much deplored friction in the development of Socialism in America, we must not expect to be exempt from those conditions which mark the birth of all great movements. Recent developments have raised the standard of Socialism and not lowered it.

George Bernard Shaw, the brilliant critic and playwright and one of the foremost of English Socialists, is nursing a broken arm, which he received by falling down stairs at Hindhead district, Surrey, where he is spending the vacation months.

INDEPENDENT POLITICAL ACTION.

It may be stated with a confidence that will meet with no qualification or reservation whatever among those who were present at the birth of the Social Democratic Party, June 11, that the party starts out on its career with a clear understanding that the chief weapon whereby it expects to accomplish its great purpose, is independent political action. There is absolutely no ground for the suggestion that any other course is contemplated, except possibly in the failure of the constitutions to expressly declare the object of the organization, and this will not be overlooked in the work of revision now going on. But the constitutions, national, state and local, do declare in terms that cannot be misunderstood, in favor of independent political action and no other. Section 9, "Constitution of National Council," says: "No member shall hold political office, except under the Social Democratic Party." The same provision occurs in Section 8, "Constitution of State Unions," and again in Section 15, "Constitution of Local Branches," the language being identical in both sections with that quoted above.

Section 2, "Constitution of Local Branches," says: "Any reputable person subscribing to the principles of this organization shall be eligible to membership."

Now, what are the principles of the organization? Obviously the declaration and demands adopted at Chicago June 11. What, then, do we find in that document which stands as the fundamental and actuating fact of the party until changed by the membership? It says that "the trade union movement and independent political action are the chief emancipating factors of the working class, the one representing its economic, the other its political wing, and that both must cooperate to abolish the capitalist system of production and distribution." Coöperate how and where? By severing "connection with all capitalist and reform parties," says the Declaration of Principles, and uniting "with the Social Democratic Party," which is a political party, nothing more and nothing less.

Under the constitution as it stands, improvable no doubt as are all things human, it seems impossible for our comrades in Vigo county, Indiana, who have nominated a Social Democratic ticket, or the comrades of New Hampshire, who also have tickets in the field, to do aught else than conduct a canvass for their candidates on independent lines, absolutely free from embroiling alliances with all politicians and parties of whatever name. Neither is there the slightest ground for supposing that the comrades in Indiana or New Hampshire will pursue any other course than that which is clearly intended by the terms of the constitution.

This is not written to advocate or defend the work thus far done, most of it under great difficulty, by the committee. There is no claim made by anyone that that work is perfect, and the members at large have before them, as their right, to pass upon it. It is deemed proper to say this much, however, because of a complaint from an earnest comrade at Boston, whose zeal for the good of the party is creditable to him, in which he says the "S. D. P. does not recognize independent political action as its chief weapon." We do not, of course, all see a thing from the same standpoint; but looking at it in the light of the facts here mentioned, the S. D. P. recognizes no other action whatever.

PUCKERBRUSH ALLIANCE.

Puckerbrush, Ohio, Last Saturday.

Mr. Debs and all the rest of you:

Well, the platform has come to hand,

and we're real rural roosters we begin diskusin' it at the behind end—

among the Demands for Farmers.

Abe Wilkins opened the hall at our last meetin'. Abe used to be a red hot republican, but he is just as hot a Socialist now—only a little more so. He used to be a red hot republican, but he wanted some like on the number 2, and he ast me to explain it, and I had to say that I hadn't studied it up, and at the convention we did not get time to discuss it, for we was too busy unloading bricks. We felt it would be all right to bring it up and lambaste it in the paper, and if it was a good thing we would hang onto it, and if it was a bad thing, we would knock it out. We are for free discussion, and no chokin' off ideas because we can't see 'em just like sum feller what got 'em up. We ain't got no professor—what never was a professor, to cut out what he don't like, and only give one side a show, like he fixed the platform that their state convention in N. H. got up. It did not suit him as they sent it in, so he just changed it to suit him, and printed it as their platform. Of course sum of 'em is saying if he is the hole thing we better get out.

I sed that we wud have to kall on the man up in Wisconsin to rite ns a lecture on number 2, fur he got it up.

"This number 2 may be all rite," says Abe, "but I don't quite see it. As it is now, we sells our stuff to the spekulators, who stores it until the dear people gets hard up fer it, and then they sells it and gets a good profit. Now, accordin' to number 2, the hole people will be taxed to bld elevators and storage houses fur us

farmers to put our stuff in to hold in the dear people has to have it, and then we will make a nice profit—that is, them as kin afford to hold it, for renters and farmers what is in debt, and they are gettin' pretty considerable numbers in this country, will have to sell just like they do now—just as soon as the stuff is fit. If the stuff was to be stored for use and not for profit, I'd say amen. But this is the great mass of the people wud be skinned just the same. That's how it looks to me.

"Here in Ohio the census of 1880 shows that between 1880 and 1890, 78 out of 1,331 townships lost population, and up in Wisconsin, where the author of number 2 lives, as I am informed, 398 out of 977 townships lost population between 1880 and 1890, and in the hole U. S. 10,003 townships out of 25,746 lost population. General Wyler aint drivin' in these recons-tradoss, but Generals Rent, Interest and Profit is, and we Socialists are declarin' war on this policy, in the interest of humanity—and we are bluffin' like sum other people I met menshun, who pretends to think God almighty their canons; or wurd to that effect. Labor savin' machinery is takin' the supplies from the recons-tradoss, and we are goin' to stop that, too, and don't you forget it."

Harry Tompkins—the feller whose father left him 40 acres of land—says, "Oh, I see what you are drivin' at: you'n fellers wants to take the farms away from us savin' fellers and give it to sum that is shiftless."

"Now, look here, Harry," says Abe, "I want to read you a little peace out of your bible, the Weekly Inter Ocean, for July 19, 1888:

"Marshall Field purchased from L. Z. Lehr for about \$2,000,000 the property fronting in feet on State street by 143 feet on Madison street, being the southeast corner of the two streets. The land is covered by the store of Schlesinger & Mayer, who own the building and are lessees of the ground."

"I want to ast you who created the value of that bare piece of ground which is enuf to pay for two hundred farms costin' ten thousand dollars apiece." That was a Stumper fur Harry, and he was stuck. Abe went on to say, "Society—the assemblin' of people—made that value, and not the paper title the feller held, and society shud have the value, which is turned into the pockets of an individual. This is a strikin' example of the wrong that grows out of the private ownership of land. What that feller can do to the reconcondadoes will that two millions is more'n a little, I can tell you."

Preacher Gard could not stand up, and he got up and said, "I tell you this calamity howlin' is not in order when we have just shown to the world our wunderful wealth by the people subscriber fur the war bonds." But Abe wuz rite there, and sed, "All those in this room full of people that has got any of these bonds wuz please hold up their hands." And Preacher Gard wuz the only one. Abe sed, "How much have you got?" And Preacher Gard sed, "When my dear old mother died, ten years ago, she give me a twenty-dollar gold piece, which I have kept ever since; but when this popular loan for gettin' hold of Cuby cum along, I parted with it, and bought a bond, promisin' myself to spend the interest in sendin' tracts to the heathen in the Philippines." Abe didn't say nothin', but picked up the Inter Ocean, out of which he red to Harry Tompkins, and said, "Mr. Gard, listen to what the financial riter has to say about them bonds," an' he red:

"The wide distribution of the bonds shows not only the abundance of surplus wealth in the country, but means that the national government will have several thousand more friends than it had before. Every small bondholder will have an interest in its integrity and welfare which he did not before possess, and he will stand for conservatism and order."

"Now," says Abe, "I just want you all to go home and think over what that kin mean here in the United States, where the flag and patriotism business is boomin' even if nothin' else is, except it be army contracts. The government will have several thousand more friends than it had before. Don't that sound funny? Just study on who is the government to-day and you will see what it means, particularly when taken in connection with the closing sentence."

The chairman called time, and the meetin' closed

FROM OUR MAIL BAG

AS TO "BOLTING."

Briefly put, the issue of my action at Chicago was that I firmly believe that it is better to "bolt" a convention than a conviction.

JAMES F. CAREY.

A GOOD EXAMPLE.

The faith and confidence of old workers for Socialism in the S. D. P. is being shown in other ways than transferring membership from the old to the new organization. For instance, the following letter comes from a highly esteemed comrade in Texas; name and location are omitted for prudential reasons only:

"I am an old line Socialist and was for years a member of the S. L. P. We must keep the fire burning. To start a paper and put organizers in the field all takes money. So inclosed you will find postal note from Mrs. [redacted] and myself to the amount of \$5. Will have a branch here ere long."

WORKED WITH THEIR HANDS.

Editor Social Democratic Herald: Victor L. Berger, in the first copy of your paper under the heading, "American Socialism," makes a side thrust at Christianity, which is both ill-timed and untrue. The early Christians labored with their hands for their living, Paul himself setting the example. The statement that they "depended upon the contributions of the richer members of the community for a living" is false, and sounds like an attempt to confuse primitive Christianity with the modern conventional type.

The ethics of Christianity is universal brotherhood. Its expression in a non-industrial society is communism. Its expression in an industrial society is Socialism.

Comrade Berger's statement is ill-timed, because Christian sentiment is commencing to be drawn to Social Democracy. It is not wise, unnecessarily to offend those who would be our friends. Our cause cannot win until it becomes the religion of the people.

Yours for the truth,
FREDERICK G. STRICKLAND.

A FULL TICKET NOMINATED.

We like the action of the New Hampshire comrades in so promptly taking the political arena with candidates for governor and congress. In fact, it suits us so well that we concluded that Terre Haute should be heard from on the same line. So on the 18th last, the full strength of the newly organized branch of the Social Democratic Party in convention assembled, nominated a full ticket for Vigo County. This is the branch of which Comrade Eugene V. Debs is a member, and the action was taken with his full sympathy and advice. The convention was held in the C. L. U. ball, which was filled by members of the party and their friends. James O'Neal was elected chairman, and Judson O'Neal secretary. After an address from Comrade Debs, expressing his great confidence in and devotion to the party, the following ticket was unanimously chosen:

For judge of the Superior Court, Samuel M. Young; for prosecuting attorney, Charles D. Wilgus; for treasurer, Clarence E. Kingery; for auditor, Wm. Ehrenhardt; for clerk, Charles R. Waltz; for recorder, John S. Kingery; for sheriff, Herman Stuempfle; for coroner, Andrew J. Melville; for commissioner of the Second district, Samuel R. Hoar; for surveyor, Mock Turtle; for joint representatives, Frank Storz and James O'Neal; for representatives, Otis M. Schreber and Wm. C. Casey. The central campaign committee will be composed of D. D. Seldon, chairman; Judson O'Neal, secretary; C. R. Waltz, Wm. Ehrenhardt, H. A. McIlvane, S. M. Young and Herman Stuempfle.

The gentlemen named to carry the banner of the Social Democrats this fall are all citizens of Terre Haute. A number of the nominees are young men. Members of the branch are all pledged to support the ticket. Remarks of workingmen lead to the conclusion that a large vote will be cast for the first Social Democratic ticket in Vigo County. E.

WOULD HAVE PEACE AT ANY PRICE

Editor Social Democratic Herald: I have received two copies of your very ably edited paper. But I am not a bolter nor am I a seceder. I was not at the convention; if I had been I should have been against you, because I believe that you are in the wrong. "In union there is strength." Now we are defeated and the cause set back for years, just what the other fellow wants. It is his salvation. The old plutocracy of both parties could not sleep for fear of the union of the unknown quantity under the banner of the S. D. A. But ever since the split they have slept soundly, because they know that they are safe for 1900, and with a union of all radicals under the banner of the S. D. A., they were in danger. Yes, in a perfect union they knew that they were defeated in 1900, and the poor would be freed and labor

would get the fruits of the services rendered, and that the rich would be deprived of the power to rob the poor and the laboring people. But oh, how happy are they to-day over our actions; we are split, and the grin runs clear across their face. And why, because they feel confident that we will not reunite in time to defeat them in 1900. It makes my heart sink within me, and I wonder will the poor ever be whipped sufficiently to make them stop splitting and dividing their strength. We are the sufferers. I say we, not because I am a laboring man, but because I am a poor man. And I have studied this cause sufficiently to know that every dollar, yes, every cent taken either as rent, interest or profit, is pure and unadulterated robbery. I don't care anything about the legality of it. I know that it is the law, and that it is lawful to do business that way; but nevertheless, wealth gotten that way is unjust, therefore robbery. No way to stop it, but by a union of forces. But over little things we split—to the enemy's great satisfaction. How long, how long, oh comrades, will we keep it up? Until we are whipped sufficiently to make us stick together, no matter if I do think differently from what you do over some trifling detail. I believe in a commonwealth. So do you. Comrades S. B. and C. do also, but they want to start a colony before we can, through combined action, establish a Commonwealth. I am willing that they shall do so. You say no, they must wait until we can set up a working commonwealth. Then comes up the question: What is the most sensible thing for us to do irrespective of who is in the majority? I submit that it is to let S. B. and C. start their colony; also to let everyone that wishes to do so help them all they wish; and that it is our duty to counsel and advise, and not to fight and split the forces that have the power in union only to right the wrongs that exist. Have we done it? If not and we better not stop splitting the forces that are the sufferers that must unite before any relief can be had? Yes, it is our duty to stop. Why? Because you have told me that I am my brother's keeper, whether I admit it or not. If I am my brother's keeper, have I any right to withdraw from you? And even to advise and counsel disunion, and for no other reason than because I differ with you as to details? No, my brother, if you are in the majority I have no right to withdraw, much less say hard things against the very things that I say that I want to get in a different way from what the majority propose. And it makes no difference how that majority was obtained. We could have all of the political activity that we wished and the other fellow could have had all the colony that he wished, and we still could have been united, and have scared plutocracy until they would have united; and some of them would not have been lauded Democrats and others Republicans. And they furnish the candidates for both old parties for us to vote for. Let us do right. Yes, let us get together and stay together.

I knew before the convention met what was being done, and I knew who was doing it. They put up the money and furnished the hall, the audience, and they invited Debs and Kelliher to make speeches in Washington. The Silver party did it. Shall we be such fools as to allow it? I knew it was being done, and I tried by letter to stop it. We all know how they split the People's party in 1896, and now they have done it for us. I do, don't you? Then let us get back where we were and stay together, pull together, fight together and stick and conquer together, for we can never do it separately.

Yours truly,
L. D. MAYES.
New York City.

NOTE.

[Our comrade is laboring under two wrong impressions: First, he is quite mistaken when he thinks it was possible to "stick together" on the policy advocated by the colonizers; the very best thing for Socialism was the separation this year; the great mistake would have been in deferring it one year longer. Second, he is wholly misinformed about the Washington meeting; Debs and Kelliher went to Washington upon the urgent invitation of Col. Richard J. Hinton, who personally directed all arrangements and acted as chairman of the meeting.—Ed.]

A FREE PRESS.

As the constitution is now before us for discussion I want to move an amendment.

If the Social Democratic Party is to be worthy of its name it must have a free press. It is not enough that we have this good intention in our hearts; it must also be embodied in our constitution. A burned child dreads the fire, and my experience with the S. L. P., which permits of no criticism of its tactics and no whisper against the infallible wisdom of its boss, on pain of immediate expulsion, has convinced me of the absolute necessity of a free press if the party is to be preserved from corruption, to be assured against boss rule, and to keep up with the times. No leader, no editor and no executive committee can be considered infallible; and no one line of policy can be laid down to-day and followed

undeviatingly now, henceforth and forevermore. Keeping constantly in view our great object, a peaceful and orderly transition to the inevitable Cooperative Commonwealth—our field of action, the whole United States of America—and our immediate duty, the education and organization of the people, our tactics must necessarily vary at different times and in different states, and the necessity for these variations must be freely discussed before changes are made, lest the party be committed to some line of policy which mature reflection and investigation might condemn. It is a fatal mistake to imagine that any party "is not strong enough to stand adverse criticism." On the contrary, no party is strong enough to do without it. Intelligent criticism from its own members, from those who hold its interests as the apple of their eye, is the very breath of life to a party. True loyalty to a party does not demand that we shall shut our eyes to its faults and seek to hide them from the outside world, like the skeleton in the family closet. We want no skeleton in our party's closet. We want no policy that is too weak or too absurd to stand the light of honest and faithful criticism. We want no members who will not give us the benefit of their experience and their knowledge if they think we are making a mistake. We want no leader who, to retain his place, has to suppress free speech, and to drive out of the party every luckless wight who dares to harbor an idea of his own. In the columns of our official organ, argument should meet argument, and let the best man win. There can be nothing done in a Socialist party which it is necessary to hide from the people of America, for the present at least. The more they know about us the better we will like it. Even in regard to the colonization schemes which we were compelled to amputate at the convention, whatever may be their outcome, we, the hoisters, the founders of the Social Democratic Party, can go before the whole world upon the stand we took, and command its respect.

There is not a particle of doubt that the good comrades who fought shoulder to shoulder for the cause of Socialism throughout that trying ordeal, and from whom the Central National Committee and the National Executive were drawn, will gladly accept and carefully weigh all honest criticism, without any special instructions to do so. Besides, there are too many brashy men in our party at the start to permit of any one of them being allowed to set himself up as a little god whose opinion must not be disputed and whose will is law. At the same time, we, the framers of this constitution, should guard against all possible future contingencies, by incorporating in our constitution at the outset the principle of free discussion of party matters in our official organ, so that it can always be enforced.

We mean to have "discipline" in our party, too. We mean to discipline our leaders and our executive committees; and to see to it that our leaders lead us right, and our executive committees execute the will of the membership, and not their own individual desires. We mean also to sift the chaff from the wheat; but this, with us, shall mean a separation of false opinions and methods of procedure from the true, and not the winnowing out and expulsion of independent thinkers from among the slaveholding followers.

To this end, therefore, and to further safeguard the rights and liberties of our members and to make the referendum something more than an empty farce, I propose that Section 16 of the Constitution of National Councils shall be amended by the addition of the following section:

"The columns of the official organ shall be at all times open to all reasonable criticism and discussion of party matters by members of the party."

Boston. MARGARET HAILE.

SHALL THE POOR HAVE BUTTER?

Shall the poor have butter? This is a question that is agitating the minds of a Chicago charitable association. Some think the poor should be given butter, others say no. Why on earth should the poor get butter? Did not God make the poor, and does he not love the poor? Did not he make them to be poor, while those who dispense charity belong to a different species of humankind entirely? The poor ought to be glad enough that they are allowed to live, to breathe the same air as the rich, to build the cities that the rich own, the palaces that the rich reside in, the luxurious coaches that the rich ride in, and make the broadcloth that the rich wear, and the thousand and one other necessities and luxuries of life. Isn't that sufficient without butter? If the charitably inclined give the poor butter, there may come a demand for meat, and the poor might not be satisfied until they have just as many good things as the rich. Shall the poor have butter? That is the question that threatens to bring about the disruption of this Christian charitable association. We anticipate, however, that the matter will be compromised by giving them oleomargarine.—International Woodworker.

undeviatingly now, henceforth and forevermore. Keeping constantly in view our great object, a peaceful and orderly transition to the inevitable Cooperative Commonwealth—our field of action, the whole United States of America—and our immediate duty, the education and organization of the people, our tactics must necessarily vary at different times and in different states, and the necessity for these variations must be freely discussed before changes are made, lest the party be committed to some line of policy which mature reflection and investigation might condemn. It is a fatal mistake to imagine that any party "is not strong enough to stand adverse criticism." On the contrary, no party is strong enough to do without it. Intelligent criticism from its own members, from those who hold its interests as the apple of their eye, is the very breath of life to a party. True loyalty to a party does not demand that we shall shut our eyes to its faults and seek to hide them from the outside world, like the skeleton in the family closet. We want no skeleton in our party's closet. We want no policy that is too weak or too absurd to stand the light of honest and faithful criticism. We want no members who will not give us the benefit of their experience and their knowledge if they think we are making a mistake. We want no leader who, to retain his place, has to suppress free speech, and to drive out of the party every luckless wight who dares to harbor an idea of his own. In the columns of our official organ, argument should meet argument, and let the best man win. There can be nothing done in a Socialist party which it is necessary to hide from the people of America, for the present at least. The more they know about us the better we will like it. Even in regard to the colonization schemes which we were compelled to amputate at the convention, whatever may be their outcome, we, the hoisters, the founders of the Social Democratic Party, can go before the whole world upon the stand we took, and command its respect.

[Notices of Branch Meetings inserted for 25c per month.]

Branch No. 11, Milwaukee, meets second and fourth Wednesdays, at 614 State street. Jacob Hunger, secretary, 614 Chestnut street.

Milwaukee Central Committee of the Social Democratic Party of America meets first and third Mondays at 8 o'clock sharp at 614 State street. Frederic Heath, secretary, John Doerfler, treasurer.

BRANCH MEETINGS.

The constitutions of national, state and local organizations are now ready for delivery in pamphlet form, and will be supplied at 3 cents per copy.

Branch No. 1 of Illinois was organized at Chicago last week, with a good list of members.

No. 1 of Colorado at Denver has reorganized under the banner of the S. D. P. with an active membership. Comrade Thomas H. Gibbs, 3609 Arlington Street, Denver, was elected treasurer.

Branch 6, New York, report additional members received and a growing interest in the S. D. P.

Members of Branch 5, Philadelphia, have organized a branch of the S. D. P., and report renewed interest in the cause of Socialism.

A new branch has been organized at Seattle, Wash. The comrades expect a large and active membership in a short time. Comrade G. F. Mather, 108 Spring Street, Seattle, is secretary.

No. 2 of Maryland has joined the growing ranks of the S. D. P., and comrades report that another branch will soon be with us, which will give us three branches in Baltimore, including the oldest and most active Socialists in that city. Comrade Ernest Wenzel is treasurer of Branch 2.

Branch 5 of New York reports the accession of thirteen new members, with more coming.

Branch 1 of Connecticut, Hartford, has been reorganized. Comrade P. Schaffer, organizer of the branch, has begun active work in behalf of the Herald.

Branch 18, Cleveland, Ohio, has joined the S. D. P. in a body, and will labor enthusiastically to advance the cause in that city.

A new branch has been organized at Roxbury, Mass., with Comrade Wm. P. Everett as secretary. His address is 2 Perrin Street. This will be one of the aggressive working branches of the East.

At a meeting of Branch No. 1, St. Louis, held Friday, July 22, the members decided to affiliate with the Social Democratic Party, and elected the following officers: Chairman, Comrade Slickerman; vice-chairman, Comrade Fritton; secretary, Comrade Hoech; treasurer, Comrade Filler. The branch is of the opinion that radical changes in the constitution are necessary, and has filed with the Executive Board a new draft; this will appear with others sent in during August, and be submitted to the membership for their action.

The Milwaukee comrades have turned over to us the balance of the platform circulars which they distributed during their spring municipal campaign. It contains eight pages and gives the first municipal platform drawn up by the American Social Democracy, together with the portraits of the four local candidates. As a Socialistic relic it has historic value, and we will furnish copies at 5 cents each until the supply is exhausted.

At 613 Pine street, St. Louis, is an enterprise deserving the support of all comrades in St. Louis and vicinity. It is a social reform news-stand and bookstore, started by Comrade L. E. Hildebrand. All the radical literature of the world is kept on sale, and subscriptions taken to social reform papers and magazines. Call and see him and leave your subscription for The Social Democratic Herald.

A glass plant at Washington, Pa., has put in sufficient machines to turn out 288,000 fruit jars a week. The factory refuses to close down during summer.

ORGANIZATION.

Instructions for organizing local branches will be sent by the National Secretary.

Copies of the constitutions now before the members for discussion and amendment, printed in pamphlet form, sent for 3 cents each.

Members of the old branches on joining the Social Democratic Party have only current dues to pay, and not the admission fee.

THEODORE DEBS,
National Secretary,
Room 56, 126 Washington St., Chicago, Ill.

BRANCH MEETINGS.

WHAT SOCIALISM IS.

The whole aim and purpose of Socialism is a closer union of Social factors. The present need is growth in that direction.—Richard P. Ely.

Socialism is the ideal and hope of a new society founded on industrial peace and forethought, aiming at a new and higher life for all men.—William Morris.

Let no man fear the name of "Socialist." The movement of the working class for justice by any other name would be as terrible.—Father William Barry.

The abolition of that individual action on which modern societies depend, and the substitution of a regulated system of co-operative action.—Imperial Dictionary.

A theory of society that advocates a more precise, orderly and harmonious arrangement of the social relations of mankind than that which has hitherto prevailed.—Webster's Dictionary.

The science of reconstructing society on an entirely new basis, by substituting the principle of association for that of competition in every branch of human industry.—Worcester's Dictionary.

A theory or polity that aims to secure the reconstruction of society, increase of wealth, and a more equal distribution of the products of labor through the public collective ownership of land and capital (as distinguished from property) and the public collective management of all industries. Its motto is, "To everyone according to his deeds."—Standard Dictionary.

Any theory of system of labor organization which would abolish entirely, or in great part, the individual effort and competition on which modern society rests, and substitute co-operation; would introduce a more perfect and equal distribution of the products of labor, and would make land and capital, as the instruments of production, the joint possession of the community.—Century Dictionary.

THE CITY IN BUSINESS.

According to the report of the Harlan committee, the value of the franchises of the street railway companies is over \$62,000,000. That is, the people turn over to private enterprise, controlled by men who haven't the decency or the gumption to be civil to their patrons, property worth more than the fortune of any individual in Chicago—with the possible exception of Marshall Field—and equal in value to about one-fourth the assessed valuation of all taxable property in this city.

What would we think of a man who gave four-fifths of his property rent free to strangers, or permitted himself to be cheated out of the use of \$62,000,000 worth of his holdings by a dishonest bookkeepers or clerks and bribing speculators? If Mr. Marshall Field or Mr. Phil Armour were to do this sort of thing people would begin to talk about him, his associates would look askance at him, discreet paragraphs concerning his condition would appear in the papers, and suddenly he would be clapped in a private lunatic asylum, and the county court would appoint a conservator for his estate. Yet when this very thing is done by eighteen hundred thousand people no one suggests that they are crazy. On the contrary, a hint that they should do otherwise is pretty certain to win for the critic the terrible epithet of Socialist—a word into which philanthropists like Mr. Yerkes and Mr. Bowen are capable of putting a world of horror.

Sometimes, we hope, the people of Chicago will wake up to the possibilities of their position and wonder at the ignorance or indolence that made them fling away their heritage. How absurd will appear to the Chicagoan of the twentieth century the present controversy as to whether the street railway companies should pay 5 or 10 per cent. of their gross earnings for the use of the people's property!—Chicago Journal.

THEORIES OF PROFIT.

[From J. L. Joyne's "Socialist Catechism."]

Q. What is the use of money? A. It facilitates the exchange of articles, especially those of unequal value.

Q. How is this effected? A. If A produces wheat, and B cloth, money serves as a convenient measure of the labor-value of each. A exchanges his wheat for money, and buys cloth with that. B exchanges his cloth for money and buys wheat with that.

Q. Are they both enriched by the bargain? A. Not in the matter of exchange value, since wheat which has cost a day's labor exchanges for cloth which has cost the same; but in the matter of use-value they are both enriched, since each gets what he wants, and gives what he does not want.

Q. Is this always the case? A. Always, in the ordinary exchange between producers who are working for their own benefit, and exchange goods for money, and that money for other goods.

Q. Can a profit be made out of money transactions altogether apart from the exchange of goods? A. Yes, by gambling either on the race-course or on the stock exchange, but in this case one gambler's gain is another's loss.

Q. What other form of exchange now prevails? A. That of those who, not being workers, produce no goods, but yet have command of money.

Q. How do they use it? A. They exchange their money for goods, and those goods back again into money.

Q. Then what is the use of the process if they only get money at the end, when they had money at the beginning? A. Because at the second exchange they get more money than they gave at the first.

Q. How has this fact been explained by economists? A. By the mere statement that the money-monger either gave less money than the goods were worth at the first exchange, or got more than they were worth at the second.

Q. What consideration did they omit in this theory? A. The fact that these same money-mongers are in the market both as buyers and sellers, and that without a miracle they cannot all gain on both transactions, but must lose in selling precisely the amount they gain in buying.

Q. What other inadequate explanation has been put forward? A. The theory that in buying machinery they buy something which has the power of adding an extra exchange value to the goods upon which it is employed.

Q. What made this theory seem plausible? A. The fact that with a machine the laborer can produce goods much faster than without it.

Q. Does not this add exchange value to his productions? A. Not unless he has a monopoly of the machine, and can thus fear no competition except that of hand-labor; otherwise the exchange value of his goods sinks in proportion to the increased rapidity of their production.

Q. Explain this. A. If he can make two yards of cloth in the time which he formerly devoted to one, and all other weavers can do the same, the price or exchange value of two yards sinks to the former price of one; though, of course, the use-value of two is always greater than that of one.

Q. Are not monopolies frequent? A. No individual capitalist can keep a monopoly for an indefinite time; but it is true that the capitalists as a body have a monopoly of machinery as against the workers, which adds a fictitious value to machine-made goods, and will continue to do so until the workers take control of the machinery, yet this extra value is too small to account for a tithe of the profits of the money-mongers.

Q. What is the one thing needful, which they must be able to buy in the market, in order to make these profits? A. Something which shall itself have the power of creating exchange value largely in excess of its own cost, in order that at the end of the transaction they may have secured more money than they have expended.

Q. What is to be bought in the market having this power? A. There is only one thing with this power, and that is the laborer himself, who offers his labor-force on the market.

Q. On what terms does he offer it? A. Competition compels him to be content with its cost price.

Q. What is this? A. Subsistence wages; that is, enough to keep himself and his family from starvation.

Q. What does this represent in labor? A. The value produced by his labor expended usefully for two or three hours every day.

Q. Is he, then, at leisure after two or three hours' work? A. By no means. The bargain between him and the capitalist requires him to give ten hours or more of work for the cost price of two or three.

Q. Why does he make such an unequal bargain? A. Because, in spite of all so-called freedom of contract, he has no other choice.

Q. Has the capitalist no conscience? A. Individuals cannot alter the system, even if they would; and the capitalist is now often represented by a company, which, if it had a conscience, could not pay its five per cent.

Q. After the laborer has produced the price of his own wages, what does he go on to do? A. To produce ex-

change value, for which he is not paid at all, for the benefit of the capitalist.

Q. What is the value produced by this unpaid labor called? A. Surplus-value, as we said before.

Q. What does the capitalist do with the surplus-value? A. He keeps as much as he can for himself under the name of profits of his business.

Q. Why does he not keep it all? A. Because out of it he has to pay landlords, other capitalists from whom he has borrowed capital, bankers and brokers who have effected these loans for him, middlemen who sell his wares to the public, and finally the public, in order to induce them to buy from him instead of from rival manufacturers.

Q. How does he justify this appropriation of surplus-value by his class? A. He tries to persuade himself that capital has the power of breeding and producing interest by a natural process as the reproduction of animals.

Q. Can he find any dupes to believe in so absurd a theory? A. He instills a genuine belief into himself and others that this is really the case.

Q. What is the inference from this? A. That the laborer ought to be grateful to the capitalist for furnishing him with employment.

Q. For what have the laborers really to thank the capitalist? A. For defrauding them of three-quarters of the fruits of their toil, and rendering leisure, education and natural enjoyment almost impossible for them to attain.

LARGEST UNION IN THE WORLD.

The British Gas Workers' and Laborers' Union, the strongest organization of its kind in the world, is wheeling into line with the progressive people. Pete Curran, one of the Socialist leaders of England, is president, and Will Thorne, another Socialist, is general secretary. In the national convention at Birmingham a few weeks ago, it was shown that this union had gained nearly 17,000 members in the last two years. Curran advocated federation on the new lines laid down by Hardie, Blatchford, Kling and other progressives, and political action, with the result that it was decided to go in for new federation, and it was also voted to expend \$1,250 a year to elect labor men and to disseminate labor's political principles.

THEY SPEAK WELL OF US.

"Social Democratic Herald" is the name of the official organ of the recently organized Social Democratic Party of America. Judging from the two first numbers that have appeared we must say that the "Social Democratic Herald" may justly and rightfully be classed among the best bona fide Socialist papers published in this country, and we heartily recommend the splendid little paper to all comrades and friends. Comrades, you can do no better work of agitation for the labor movement than by distributing such excellent Socialist papers as the "Social Democratic Herald" among your English speaking fellow-workmen and friends.—*Brauer-Zeitung*, St. Louis.

We are to-day in receipt of the first number of the "Social Democratic Herald," the new Socialist paper published at Chicago, edited by A. S. Edwards. The executive committee is composed of the foremost Socialists of the day: Jesse Cox, chairman; Seymour Stedman, secretary; Eugene V. Debs, Victor L. Berger, Frederic Heath. Evidently the principals of Socialism will not down.

Constitution of Local Branches.

NAME AND LOCATION.

Section 1. This organization, located at _____, County of _____, shall be known as Local Branch No. _____ of _____ of the Social Democratic Party of America, and shall hold a charter duly issued by the National Council, which may be suspended or reclaimed by the National Executive Board in case of violation of the laws, principles or regulations of the organization.

MEMBERSHIP.

Sec. 2. Any reputable person subscribing to the principles of this organization shall be eligible to membership.

Sec. 3. A local branch shall consist of not less than five, nor more than five hundred members, _____ members constituting a quorum.

Sec. 4. A person desiring membership shall make application to a local branch, recommended by a member of said branch, and if accepted by a majority vote shall be enrolled as a member.

Sec. 5. A member may be transferred from one local branch to another by obtaining from the secretary a transfer card and depositing the same with the secretary of the branch desired to be joined.

Sec. 6. A member in good standing may terminate his or her membership by obtaining from the secretary a card of withdrawal.

Sec. 7. Each member shall be entitled to a card of membership, such card to be furnished by the National Council and issued to members by the secretary of the local branch.

DUES AND FEES.

Sec. 8. The admission fee, which shall accompany each application for membership, shall be such an amount as may be determined by the local branch, provided it shall be sufficient to include 25 cents to be forwarded to the National Council.

Sec. 9. At the close of each meeting the treasurer shall transmit to the National Council the names of all members admitted at said meeting, their postoffice addresses and a remittance by postal money order of their admission fee.

Sec. 10. The dues of a member shall be payable quarterly in advance, on or before the first day of January, April, July and October, in such an amount as the local union may determine, provided it shall be sufficient to include 25 cents per quarter to be forwarded to the National Council. A member admitted on or before the middle of the quarter shall pay dues for the full quarter; a member admitted after the middle of the quarter shall be exempt for said quarter.

Sec. 11. On or before the 5th day of each quarter the treasurer shall remit by postal money order the quarterly dues for the current quarter to the National Council, and each local branch shall remit the full amount due for the entire membership of the branch.

EXECUTIVE BOARD.

Sec. 12. The Executive Board shall consist of five members, elected annually in March, and shall have general supervision of the local branch. It shall be empowered to provide such rules, issue such orders and adopt such measures, subject to the local branch, as may be required to carry out the objects of the organization, provided that no action shall be taken which conflicts with this constitution, the constitution of the State Union, the constitution of the National Union, or the declaration of principles.

Sec. 13. The officers of the Board shall consist of a chairman, vice-chairman, secretary, treasurer and organizer, and such others as may be determined, who shall be elected at each annual meeting and serve until their successors are elected and qualified. They shall perform such duties as pertain to their several offices and as the local branch may direct. The Board shall hold stated meetings in March of each year and such special meetings as may be required.

Sec. 14. Any member of the Board may be removed by a majority vote of the local branch, provided that all charges shall be reduced to writing and that the accused member shall be entitled to a fair trial. Vacancies in the Board shall be filled by the local branch.

Sec. 15. No member of the Board shall hold political office, except under the Social Democratic Party.

Sec. 16. The local branch shall hold meetings at such times as the members may determine.

Sec. 17. At each annual meeting of the local branch in March the officers shall submit complete reports of the transactions of their several offices for the preceding year.

JURISDICTION.

Sec. 18. Local branches shall be subject to the jurisdiction of the State Union and National Council, and the State Union shall be subject to the jurisdiction of the National Council.

ELECTIONS.

Sec. 19. At each annual meeting of the local branch in March an Executive Board of five members and representatives to the State Union shall be elected, who shall serve for one year, or until their successors are elected and qualified.

BY-LAWS.

Sec. 20. A local branch may adopt such laws as a majority may determine, provided they do not conflict with this constitution, the constitution of the State Union, the constitution of the National Council, or the declaration of principles.

TRIALS.

Sec. 21. Any member violating the laws or principles of the organization may be suspended or expelled by a two-thirds vote of a local branch, provided that no charges against a member shall be preferred in writing by a member in good standing and the accused shall be entitled to a fair trial.

APPEALS.

Sec. 22. Any member having been suspended or expelled may appeal to the Executive Board of the State, and if the decision of that body is not satisfactory he may appeal to the Executive Board of the National Council.

Sec. 23. The constitution of Local Branches, State Unions and the National Council is the organic law of the organization, and can be altered or amended only by the National Council in meeting assembled or by the general organization through the Initiative and Referendum.

Sec. 24. Upon application of five percent of the membership any matter relating to the amendment of the constitution, the calling of a special meeting of a State Union or the National Council, or the removal of an officer, state or national, shall be submitted to a direct vote of the membership, through the Initiative and Referendum, and a majority vote shall determine the result.

Sec. 25. A member in good standing may terminate his or her membership by obtaining from the secretary a card of withdrawal.

Sec. 26. Each member shall be entitled to a card of membership, such card to be furnished by the National Council and issued to members by the secretary of the local branch.

CHANGES IN CONSTITUTION.

Comrades will please take notice that ample opportunity for discussion and changes in the constitution will be afforded the membership. Several new ones and some amendments have already been received. The Executive Board has decided to take no action until its first meeting in September, when some provision will be made to place the whole matter before the Branches. In the meantime don't kick to the Board, but send in your amendments and suggestions during the month of August.

THE PLATFORM.

The Social Democratic Party of America declares that life, liberty and happiness for every man, woman and child are conditioned upon equal political and economic rights.

That private ownership of the means of production and distribution of wealth has caused society to split into two distinct classes with conflicting interests, the small possessing class of capitalists or exploiters of the labor force of others and the ever-increasing large dispossessed class of wage-workers, who are deprived of the socially due share of their product.

That capitalism, the private ownership of the means of production, is responsible for the insecurity of subsistence, the poverty, misery and degradation of the ever-growing majority of our people.

That the same economic forces which have produced and now intensify the capitalist system will compel the adoption of Socialism, the collective ownership of the means of production, for the common good and welfare, or result in the destruction of civilization.

That the trade union movement and independent political action are the chief emancipating factors of the working class, the one representing its economic, the other its political wing, and that both must co-operate to abolish the capitalist system of production and distribution.

Therefore, the Social Democratic Party of America declares its object to be the establishment of a system of co-operative production and distribution, through the restoration to the people of all the means of production and distribution, to be administered by organized society in the interest of the whole people, and the complete emancipation of society from the domination of capitalism.

The wage-workers and all those in sympathy with their historical mission to realize a higher civilization should sever connection with all capitalist and reform parties and unite with the Social Democratic Party of America.

The control of political power by the Social Democratic Party will be paramount to the abolition of capitalism and of all class rule.

The solidarity of labor connecting us with millions of class conscious fellow workers throughout the civilized world will lead to International Socialism, the brotherhood of man.

As steps in this direction, we make the following demands:

1. Revision of our antiquated Federal Constitution in order to remove the obstacles to full and complete control of government by all the people, irrespective of sex.

2. The public ownership of all industries controlled by monopolies, trusts and combines.

3. The public ownership of all railroads, telegraph, telephone, all means of transportation, communication, water works, gas and electric plants, and all other public utilities.

4. The public ownership of all gold, silver, copper, lead, coal, iron, and all other mines; also of all oil and gas wells.

5. Reduction of the hours of labor in proportion to the increasing facilities of production.

6. The inauguration of a system of public works and improvements for the employment of a large number of the unemployed, the public credit to be utilized for that purpose.

7. All useful inventions to be free to all, the inventor to be remunerated by the public.

8. Labor legislation to be made national instead of local, and international where possible.

9. National insurance of working people against accidents and lack of employment and pensions in old age.

10. Equal civil and political rights for women, and the abolition of all laws discriminating against women.

11. The adoption of the Initiative and Referendum, and the right of recall of representatives by the voters.

12. Abolition of war as far as the United States are concerned, and the introduction of international arbitration instead.

The Social Democratic Party of America does not hope for the establishment of social order through the increase of misery, but on the contrary expects its coming through the determined, united efforts of the workers

of both city and country to gain and use the political power to that end. In view of this we adopt the following platform for the purpose of uniting the workers in the country with those in the city:

1. No more public land to be sold, but to be utilized by the United States or the state directly for the public benefit or leased to farmers in small parcels of not over 640 acres, the state to make strict regulations as to improvements and cultivation. Forests and waterways to be put under direct control of the nation.

2. Construction of grain elevators, magazines and cold storage buildings by the nation, to be used by the farmers at cost.

3. The postal, railroad, telegraph and telephone services to be so united that every post and railroad station shall be also a telegraph and telephone center. Telephone service for farmers, as for residents of cities, to be at cost.

4. A uniform postal rate for the transportation of agricultural products on all railroads.

5. Public credit to be at the disposal of counties and towns for the improvement of roads and soil and for irrigation and drainage.

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